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Education Issue

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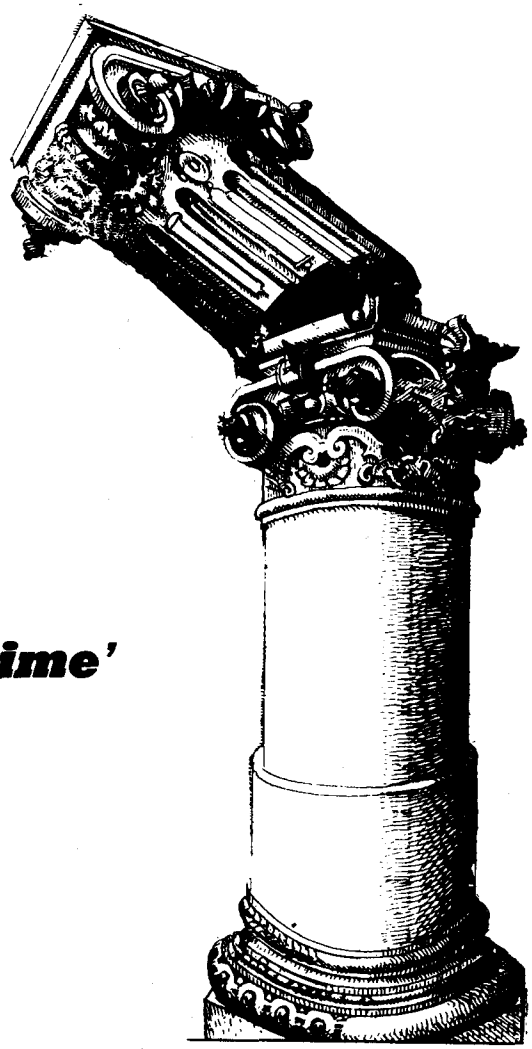

JOHN TRACY ELLIS

AMERICAN CATHOLICISM

in 'an uncertain, anxious time'

TAX CREDITS AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS

THOMAS R. MULLANEY

STEEL: PEACE IN OUR TIME

JOE HILL

THE NEW INTERIORISM

PETER STEINFELS

REVIEWS: GEO HESBURGH & AI **GEL** on PEOPLE **L. SCHOENWALD** on MILLETT **H. WALKER** on the MIGRATORY AMERICAN ...RD, **IE-** **RD** **RT**

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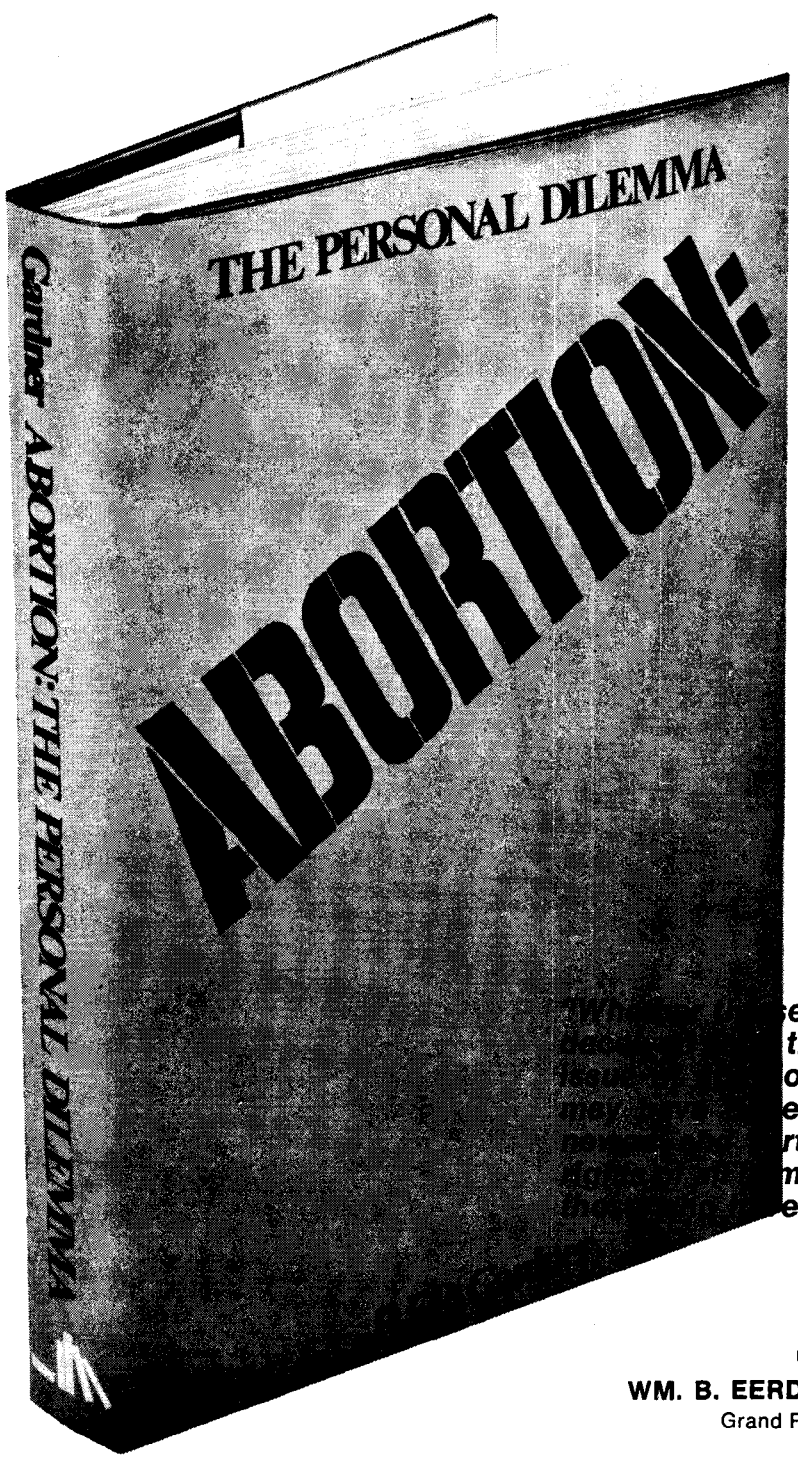
"Justice Harry A. Blackmun's majority opinion . . . sounds more like a senate bill than a judicial decision, and there is good reason to believe history will one day mark it a hideous error."

—Edwin A. Roberts, Jr.
The National Observer



The Supreme Court has ruled; for all practical purposes, legalized abortion is now a fact. During the coming year, as many as a million and a half legal abortions may be performed in this country.

But the abortion question won't just quietly go away. Criticism of the Court's decision has been widespread; there is talk of enacting a Constitutional amendment to prohibit abortion.

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Drawing heavily on his own experiences, and on case studies from several countries, Gardner discusses every aspect of this complex question. He offers no black and white answers, no pat solutions. But he does provide a balanced and perceptive discussion of the issues, and he suggests approaches that will prove helpful for all those who also find in abortion a profoundly personal dilemma.

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—Choice

even justices are so sanguine or think that they have resolved the on cannot be known. What they e in effect is to stimulate a re- rtified popular struggle for the man beings, the unborn as well as e proved their viability."

—J. Robert Nelson,
The Christian Century

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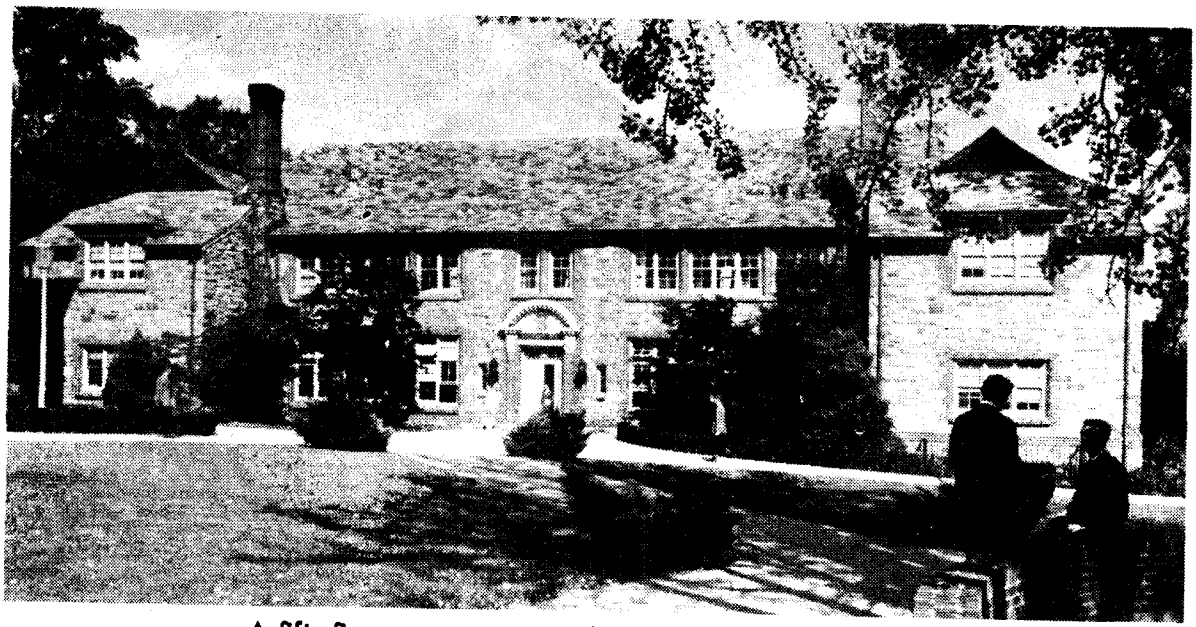

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NEWS & VIEWS

Rehabilitating Vietnam

In the popular mind, the rehabilitation of Vietnam is associated with the rebuilding of small villages, transportation of folks back to the farm, repair of roads, and other essentially superficial tasks. Expensive, and a political headache at home . . . but not too exacting a challenge.

The delusionary nature of this kind of thinking is pointed up in a position paper recently issued by the Buddhist Committee for Reconstruction and Development. The paper has to do merely with South Vietnam, and limited though the study may be on which it is based, it makes clear the enormity of the rehabilitation tasks awaiting attention in that unhappy land.

The Buddhist report sees the challenge beginning with the problem of resettlement. Almost half of South Vietnam's population—7.3 million out of 15 million people—is refugeed. These people must be provided with a new start in life, and that translates to jobs, land, tools of trade, food allowances, construction materials, etc.

Even then the work is just beginning, for behind the ranks of the able-bodied are the orphaned and the aged, the disabled and the demoralized. The Buddhist paper makes the invisible visible, and cites the work ahead:

"1. There are tens of thousands of war-injured orphans and other children (amputees, paraplegics, burn victims, etc.). These children must be given medical treatment, food, a home, education.

"2. There are hundreds of thousands of war-injured veterans on both sides. They are in need of proper medical care and vocational training, so that they can be re-integrated into the society.

"3. There are *at least* 450,000 orphans, approximately half of whom are living with a relative. Those living with relatives will never receive an education without outside help for their support. Those living in orphanages need places to live that are more homelike, and [need] more personal care and attention. Those wandering the streets need homes.

"4. The vast majority of the population are children. Millions of them living in the countryside and the city slums lack schools, textbooks, notebooks, teachers.

"5. There are at least 100,000 elderly people whose entire families have been killed. Many of them who are 70- to 80-years-old must resort to begging or doing demeaning work in order to live.

"6. There are at least a half-million of the poorest refugees who have no resources at all with which to build new homes, resettle and begin to farm again . . ."

Human rehabilitation must be the first phase of Vietnam reconstruction and development, says the Buddhist position paper. Then comes social, agricultural, economic and cultural reconstruction.

In the latter phase, the paper recommends programs to rescue the land (devastated "by chemical defoliants, and other poisons, bulldozing and craterization"); reforestation (many forests have been destroyed by defoliation; many trees are full of metal fragments, making them useless for lumber"); cattle-breeding ("at least two-thirds" of livestock has been killed); labor syndicalism, leadership training and cooperative development.

Also, the Buddhist paper recommends a center for writers, poets and philosophers. The Buddhists see such a center bringing the people of Vietnam together through "creative works aiming at reconciliation."

The point in all this for Americans is that the work of rehabilitation is not going to be any cheap or easy deal. The Vietnamese deserve no less than what the Buddhist position paper asks, and perhaps a whole lot more. The obligation is on the U.S. to see that they get it.

Thieu's Prisoners

President Thieu's tiger cages are still far from empty, Thieu's reassurances to Pope Paul notwithstanding. Among political prisoners yet being held are five leaders of South Vietnam's J.O.C. (Young Christian Workers). The five were brought to trial last fall on political charges, acquitted in court, but deported nonetheless to Con Son, Thieu's infamous prison island. They have been held incommunicado since, according to word reaching J.O.C. international headquarters in Brussels.

Meanwhile, a Vietnamese Redemptorist, Father Chan Tin, has publicly exposed the latest tactic of the Thieu regime with respect to political prisoners: "It draws up a document certifying that the political prisoners are freed and forces them to sign it; then it transfers them to some unknown place. There are such instances at Con Son and Tan Hiep. Does it mean that they have been liquidated? . . . The Thieu government can make use of these documents adorned with fingerprints to claim that these prisoners are no longer at detention centers."

Heroes or Killers?

Several have made the point, but none more cogently than *Pittsburgh Catholic* columnist Msgr. Charles Owen Rice:

"About those prisoners of war and their stories of mistreatment: remember what they were doing; remember the stuff they dropped on people—napalm, fragmentation bombs, etc.; remember that prisoners from the other side were being tortured by our allies while we stood by; such prisoners were sometimes dropped from our helicopters so that others would talk and that hardly made pilots lovable; remember that many My Lais were witnessed by the enemy and the word was passed around.

"Killer aviators are heroes only to the peoples who possess planes; ground troops always have had a poor view of them. Back in the twenties when France was subduing North Africa and used planes against the natives, Abd El Krim was inconsiderate enough to spread-eagle captured pilots and light fires on their tummies—the 'civilized' world with its planes, bombs and machine guns was, of course, horrified.

"Our military lost the battle of propaganda, along with some other battles, while the war was going on; it is renewing that battle now. I do hope that a bit of counter-information will squeeze into print or onto the tubes."

Odds and Ends

• The Catholic Peace Fellowship has picked up its third episcopal member: Bishop Carroll Dozier of Memphis. The other two; Detroit's Auxiliary Bishop Gumbleton and Britain's Archbishop Roberts.

• The national debt consumes on the average 11.2 percent of funds appropriated by Congress; at least 75 percent of that debt is war-created.

• The London *Economist* zings U.S. papers covering Senate hearings on the ITT-Chile affair for not showing "much interest in evidence that did not directly contribute to the domestic political debate"; e.g.: "When Mr. Edward Korry, the former American ambassador to Santiago quietly dropped one of the few genuine bombshells—that representatives of 'all three political camps' in Chile had approached the embassy for funds before the election—he was not even quoted in the *New York Times* or the *Washington Post*."

JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

Beyond Nostalgia

Chicago, Ill.

To the Editors: Michael Novak takes quick exception to Garry Wills' attaçks on Catholic liberals [Feb. 9], but one hears a plaintive hesitancy when he treats Wills' animadversions on Catholic ethnic culture. Wills, he says, mixes nostalgia with "a strange self-rejection, a distinct self-hatred, a resentment against his past he is quick to spot in others." Novak hesitates because this strange mixture can be found in so many others, even in the Berrigans "anytime they speak of 'liberals'." He confesses, ruefully, "I see it in me."

In attempting to make sense of a love-hate relationship, one takes one side of the struggle for granted and explains the other. I take for granted any resentment liberal, intellectual Catholics may still feel for the limitations of their illiberal, anti-intellectual ethnic past. They did not leave that world without reason. Less plain, in fact altogether unclear, is the attraction and fascination which the old folkways seem still to hold. Beyond nostalgia or notes for a future novel, what does that world have to offer to a Novak, a Wills, or a Daniel Berrigan?

I suggest that Novak's "Catholic tribal life" offers, in a word, the promise of sanctuary. Perhaps not everyone needs sanctuary, but it is my opinion that all intellectuals do. Philip Rieff points out in *Freud: The Mind of the Moralist* that Freud

> discovered that although he was not a believing Jew, he remained a psychological one. It was, in fact, Freud's *mystique* of membership in the Jewish community that protected him. . . . His letters are full of obedience to the authority of his ancestry.
>
> Freud needed a standard Jewish marriage, in which the wife is queen and keeper of a standard Jewish household. From this bridgehead of tradition, Freud the

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THE SCHOOL DEBATE

Critics of the Church like Paul Blanshard always argued that the parochial school was dangerously divisive per se, while Catholics by and large insisted with a variety of arguments that this was not the case. Today, though, it is hard to deny that the parochial school issue is a divisive one among Catholics themselves—a fact that is obvious in differences of opinion and emphasis in most Catholic groups, even among the members of a small staff such as that on this magazine.

On the one hand, with more than half of American parishes boasting a parochial school, many urban Catholics consider such a parish-with-school as right or typical. They can't visualize a parish any other way, although the fact of having a parochial school often means that the chief effort of the parish is precisely the operation of that school, with well over half of all parish funds going for that purpose and with perhaps an even larger share of the available energy and enthusiasm. On the other hand, many Catholics have come to object to this pattern of parish life as excessively child-centered and overly limited in scope, often discouraging Catholics from playing their full and proper role in the larger world around them. The parish, they argue, should educate, but it should educate adults as well as children, and it should be at the same time a center for unselfish service to society and for meaningful worship by the local believing community. As they see it, over-preoccupation with a parochial school interferes with the attainment of these goals. And so the debate goes on.

We cannot, of course, offer any magic formula that would put an end once and for all to this internal Catholic disagreement. Indeed, we would not offer such a formula if we had one, for to our way of thinking it is a good thing that the debate is taking place. Our only regret, if we have one, is that too often the discussion is framed solely in terms of dollars and cents. There is, after all, something ironic in the fact that it is American Catholicism at its most affluent that now timorously discusses how best to carry on the effort at Catholic education begun by our immigrant fathers. However, the exodus of religious from the convents is real, and we recognize the dollar crunch, even in affluent parishes. All we would argue is that wherever possible, a decision on the schooling question

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should be based not only on financial considerations but also on sober evaluation of the best possible way to achieve Christian education for adults and children alike.

With that much said, we would then go on to argue strongly how essential it is that determined efforts be made right now to bring new vitality to parish life, whether the ultimate decision on the education question is pro or con the parochial school. Christian education on all levels, Christian witness in service to the entire community, Christian worship on more than a superficial level—all of these are vital for a living parish. A parish without this balance, a parish whose center and sole reason for being is a parochial school, risks speedy internal collapse if forced by external circumstance to close that school. In such a case the last state could indeed be worse than the first. But, as has been pointed out by various contributors to these pages in the past, a parish that strives generously for all three central goals—for dedicated Christian education, witness and worship—can safely take up the parochial school issue, can thresh out the question of how best to give Christian education to all its parishioners, and do so without fear of disaster, no matter which way the decision goes.

Clearly we must, in this era of rapid change, be more prepared than we have shown ourselves in the past to experiment, to do some fresh thinking about old problems. This is a big country, and no doubt there is no one single solution. The possibilities open to a university parish will differ markedly from those available in an urban working-class neighborhood. The needs of a rural parish in the Midwest will obviously be different from those in Spanish Harlem. Indeed, the situation Catholics face varies so much from place to place that it is small wonder if those in one locale find it hard to understand the arguments of those in another. Some parishes in one situation will opt to drop their schools, others to keep theirs, and thus the great internal debate must continue. But education does not exist in a vacuum and as the debate goes on, primary attention must be paid to the underlying health of the parish itself. If we are in trouble on this score—and there are many indications that we are—we are in big trouble indeed.

●●●●●●●●●●●●●●

STEEL CONTRACT

PEACE IN OUR TIME

Social historian Staughton Lynd is currently writing a series of articles on the history of the United Steelworkers union in the independent radical weekly, *The Guardian.* In a "now-it-can-be-told" version, he places much credence on taped interviews of old leftists who helped organize the union, only to later be purged in the early Cold War period.

As might be expected, the theme is one of militant rank-and-file workers who were eliminated from any positions of influence in a big industrial union by a CIO hierarchy steeped in Mine Worker authoritarianism, of workers who would have sat down and occupied the steel mills had not U.S. Steel recognized their existence in a March 1937 agreement. Yet Lynd also recalls that this recognition was a top-down understanding, negotiated not by a workers' committee but in a hotel room by one man, John L. Lewis, who was a match for any industrial baron of his day.

The perspective, drawn by a chronicler of labor history who is essentially a barricades romanticist, should provide additional insight into the recent agreement between the same Steelworkers union and U.S. Steel (as the pacesetter for the country's major steel-producers) and nine other companies. It too has been described by both sides as "historic," and is additional evidence of Nixon's affinity for a planned economy in which huge corporations and large unions respond to bureaucratic demands and political realities determined by the nature of their corporate-union relationship.

Rarely has such a labor understanding gained such diverse praise, from the White House to corporate board rooms, from George Meany to the *New York Times*, from financial forecasters to the Steelworkers' substructure which represents the 600 local unions whose members do the dirty work of producing steel. The *Times* saw it as a hallmark agreement and urged that all in labor and management should "follow steel's lead in substituting reason for economic force in industrial relations."

The agreement itself is intended to maintain peace in the basic steel industry and thus avoid the cycle of stockpiling and hedge-buying which has prompted steel buyers in this country to import foreign steel, thus reducing domestic jobs. The document approved by the union's Basic Steel Industry Conference is termed an "experimental" procedure but it virtually assures the industry and the union of a no-strike, no-lockout situation through July, 1977.

Although the current contract between the union and the nation's big steel producers will not expire until August of next year, the approved agreement guarantees a three-percent wage increase per year for three years in addition to a cost-of-living clause for each of the three years. The understanding also calls for a $150

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"bonus" for each worker—perhaps 400,000 or more—in the industry, reflecting the workers' share of the savings made by industry by not having to close down operations during contract termination period in anticipation of a strike.

While the industry and the press have generally referred to the "no-strike" aspect of the agreement, those in the union have tended to emphasize the right to strike over local plant conditions and issues, which has been retained. As there has been no strike in basic steel in 14 years, and only isolated local strike situations, the issue may largely be one to be consigned to Lynd's archives of precarious and romantic beginnings. John Herling in the *Washington Star* described how one steel investor reacted: "beautiful—a fantastic way to buy off a strike!"

Another steel executive concerned with the boom-bust cycle of stockpiling and loss of sales to foreign steel producers saw it as "a great step forward for us. Maybe some day we can conduct our labor negotiations like the Japanese. When they have a strike, they just wear black armbands—and keep on working." In truth, strike obsolescence may be a reality in industries which are responding when challenged, pushed and prodded, but the adversary role which unions have traditionally played cannot be so easily eliminated—if labor unions are to remain relevant.

Some radical-chic observers of the labor scene will undoubtedly term the new steel understanding as a "sell-out" of the right to strike, but radical historian Lynd again reminds us of the no-strike clause in the 1937 agreement, and of the union's first declarations that it would "seek to avoid industrial strife and the calling of strikes, if we are to be met in a reasonable spirit by the employers." More important than the historical footnotes, however, is the almost unanimous support the procedure found in the conference representing the 600 basic steel local-union presidents. This—coupled with support from his executive board of elected district directors—provides Steelworkers' President I. W. Abel with something of a mandate, having recently won a third and final four-year term without any internal opposition.

The "experimental agreement" has a May 15 deadline, after which the permanent language will be effected if the draft agreement is not to become void. Thus retention of the essential innovation, the agreement "not to engage in strikes, work stoppages or concerted refusals to work in support of bargaining demands," must be approved before the union's local union elections, in which the same steel industry union presidents must stand for re-election on their support of this once-volatile issue. It is testimony to the politically sensitive antennae of Abel that such a proposition would be advanced, with the potentials for rejection present at more than one level.

With 1973 a major contract year in auto, trucking and electrical manufacturing, other unions are already looking at the strike-free arrangement worked out in steel. Other industries and their workers have different situations, however. The binding arbitration aspect of the steel document will be as unattractive to some unions as the no-strike implications are to others.

Fundemental change still looms as the specter behind the steel mills just as in the auto production line, and so far even the innovation of an industrial peace in our time has failed to confront the generic dissatisfaction of the worker himself—the building resistance of a better-educated generation which has come to question its own work environment. Because the very genesis of American unionism has been to get only a piece of the pie—and not of the plant or the factory—the idea of worker participation in running things is foreign to the thrust for real change in the workplace.

Making steel has traditionally produced many men who not only hate their jobs but end up hating their lives. Not more proportionally, perhaps, than other work sectors, but steel production does embrace more than half a million people, the majority of whom populate the urban ghettos if they are black and the satellite suburbs with the high tax-school breakdown-environmental decay syndrome—and all this contributes to a larger social alienation.

If four years of steel peace can produce bigger and better profits for the nation's steel producers, then it also should challenge innovation to fulfill the promise of better homes and better lives for those who help make those profits, a proposition not alien to any generation of workers.

JOE HILL

(Joe Hill is the pseudonym of a journalist specializing in labor affairs.)

NEXT WEEK

JOHN HORGAN writes about the state of post-Conciliar Catholicism in Ireland:

"Irish Catholic nationalism has always been conservative. O'Connell and the bishops, their well-drilled flocks behind them, bargained with the British government of the 19th century for a comfortable co-existence rather than for complete separation, and spoke out more or less consistently against more radical movements. The minority nature of these movements, and the lack of popular education, helped to consolidate their politico-religious leadership, and the resultant synthesis of religion and national identity."

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THE NEW INTERIORISM

PETER STEINFELS

It does not take a particularly keen observer of secular and religious culture to note the change in atmosphere which has recently taken place in those realms. I would characterize it as the "new interiorism," a phrase both vague and unlovely, but the best I can do for the moment. It is meant to suggest a general mood of inwardness and self-examination. Traditional symbols, secular and religious, are being reemphasized; and the quest for inner strength and a personally rich vision of reality is given priority over concern with institutional arrangements.

The "new interiorism" takes dramatically different form in different groups. Theodore Roszak pinpointed the appearance of the early editions of the *Whole Earth Catalog* as "perhaps the turning point" when young dissenters gave up their ragged attempts to launch a frontal attack on industrial America and chose instead "practical disaffiliation and dignified survival. . . . One had to pioneer the inner frontiers of urban and rural America"—and, it might be added, of the mind.

Far, far from the discipline of Carlos Castaneda and organic housekeeping, among those increasingly conservative intellectuals whom Irving Howe has usefully labeled the Party of Prudence, the "new interiorism" is no less concerned with the mind, or, if you will, with the state of the soul. Here it is not the Mind Luxuriant which is sought but the Mind Chastened, cleansed of the excitations and the confusions which these intellectuals believe were the sole legacy of the '60s, tuned to the appreciation of traditional institutions and the Way Things Are, restored to that disabused and reined-in state which the advertisements for *Commentary* are pleased to term "sanity."

It is in the Catholic church, however, that I see the "new interiorism" most clearly. There is a strong drive to make social and political action explicitly meaningful in religious terms. There is a new concern with the spiritual life. Traditional elements of liturgy are being treasured once more. There is a concern for "roots"—scriptural, liturgical, theological—more typical of the early '60s than the post-Conciliar period. Cultural roots as well, as exemplified by the interest in ethnicity and the distinctive experience of American Catholics. In Roszak's phrase, the concern of the moment is "to pioneer the inner frontiers"—of theology and the spiritual life, of religious and ethnic identity.

This trend is too large and diffuse to admit of any simple judgment. It does seem clear that the "new interiorism" is the child of recent political defeats. If there is any pattern which qualifies as a law of history, it is that the defeat of political and social hopes leads to a search inward. If the Kingdom cannot be established on earth, it will be found within.

That the "new interiorism," for many at least, is born of defeat is itself no criticism of the trend. For this may be a wise response to defeat, a regrouping of forces, a reassessment of means and ends. On the other hand, it is probably as well to recognize the possibility that the "new interiorism" can turn from orderly retreat to abject surrender; that it can signal a failure of nerve; that for all its talk about refusing assimilation into the mainstream it could itself rationalize a drift with the mainstream at a moment when enduring commitment to social and political change promises only frustration.

There are several other tendencies against which the "new interiorism" should guard. Nostalgia is one. The church is mildly threatened by a flood of nostalgia for hard-nosed, holy-card Catholicism. That the pre-Conciliar church was not bereft of truth and beauty is indisputable; that it was also cool and killing to many a spirit is equally true. Perhaps we left those shores for the new world of *aggiornamento* naively thinking the streets might be paved in spiritual gold. They weren't, but no amount of misty-eyed longing for the "old country" will cover up the hard truth which launched us on this journey.

The inflation of external enemies as a means of propping up an internal sense of identity is another sure technique for transforming the "new interiorism" from healthy response into sickness. The rediscovery of ethnicity, for example, is off to a bad start if it must depend on creation of the myth that intellectuals despise ethnics. From Chomsky's *American Power and the New Mandarins* to Halberstam's *The Best and the Brightest,* the intellectuals have reserved their severest censure for intellectuals, not hard hats or ethnics.

Nor is it any healthier to base Catholic identity on an exaggerated notion of anti-Catholic sentiment. The condescension Catholics may encounter among educated liberals is annoying; but trying to achieve a self-identity by rubbing these scratches into running sores is a mark of desperation, to say the least.

Finally, the "new interiorism" will be doomed if it expends its energies in recriminations over the disappointments of the recent past. Self-examination is an excellent idea, but let it begin with the self. When my colleague in these pages, Mr. Novak, preaches too earnestly week after week, one can only recall that this exenthusiast of students, Americanization and the anti-war crusade, declared in 1968 that America had entered a fascist phase, that Americans loved tyranny, and that the best strategy for 1972 was support of the "new politics." If breast-beating there must be, it seems only appropriate to begin with the breast nearest at hand.

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AMERICAN CATHOLICISM

in 'an uncertain, anxious time'

JOHN TRACY ELLIS

In February, 1557, William van der Lindt, a fiery Catholic apologist, sent some of his writings to Saint Peter Canisius with a request for his critical comment. In reply the latter remarked: "With regard to your proposed, 'Advice to Bishops,' there is this to be considered, that we temper zeal with Christian prudence, lest wishing to build up we, perhaps, through want of discretion, rather destroy, especially in these times when so little is left of the Church except ruins."

The Catholic Church's condition in the United States in 1973 is not, to be sure, identical with that in the German world of Canisius four centuries ago. Yet there is enough of a parallel to prompt a writer called to comment on the present scene to take pause, lest 'wishing to build up' he should 'through want of discretion, rather destroy.' In a time of singular divisiveness such as our own, some cautious minds would probably say that a writer should remain silent. But when he is asked to give his views on controversial matters he can do so with less hesitancy, perhaps, than if he should offer them unsolicited, and in so acting he can as well find further justification for expressing himself in R. H. Tawney's axiom that "rashness is a more agreeable failing than cowardice, and, when to speak is unpopular, it is less pardonable to be silent than to say too much."

In the 183 years that have passed since the American Church was formally organized, the Catholic community has experienced a fair share of crisis and untoward movements, but that community has never known anything to approximate its present dispiritedness and disarray. The tensions that overtook certain congregations in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries by reason of lay trusteeism, the doctrinal stir over an alleged Americanism that succumbed early in our own century almost as suddenly as it had arisen, and the five waves of organized bigotry that struck the Catholics between the Nativists of the 1830's and the unpleasantness set off in the 1940's by the POAU and its principal spokesman, Paul Blanshard—all of these were of relatively brief duration, often local in application, and not of a nature to call in question, even remotely, the Church's ability to surmount the problem and to proceed calmly on her way with no essential impairment of the purpose that first brought her to these shores when Spain was a formidable power and France and England were staking out their original claims on this soil.

Following his visit to the United States in 1831-1832, Alexis de Tocqueville stated in regard to the American Catholic community that although many were astonished by the Church's doctrines and practices, "they feel a secret admiration for its discipline, and its great unity attracts them." Were the famous Frenchman to return today, the situation that obtains in that same community would not inspire the optimism with which he foresaw the Church's future 140 years ago. It is a situation that has given rise, and that will continue to give rise, to numerous questions from interested observers, Catholic and non-Catholic, American and non-American. Obviously, this is not the place to attempt answers to all these questions, even were a writer to believe that he or she had the

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competence to do so, as this writer assuredly does not. In order, therefore, to try to insure some degree of thoroughness, I will center my comments in the main around two questions, and treat these with special reference to Catholic education: 1) How is one to explain the malaise that set in among the Catholics of this country about 1966? 2) What, conceivably, might be done to mitigate the confusion and doubt that have brought the nation's largest religious group of approximately 50,000,000 members, nigh one-fourth of the country's population, to such a low estate?

The extraordinary achievement of American Catholics, most of whom even now are hardly more than two generations removed from their impoverished, often illiterate, immigrant ancestors, is too well known to need retelling. The feat merits, however, a passing tribute to the persistence, industry and resourcefulness with which they brought it about, often in spite of enormous obstacles, as tribute is also owed to the Republic that, affording them a basic freedom of action, opened the way to its multiple and varied opportunities. As this community made its gradual ascent toward the heights whereon flowed the mainstream of national life, inevitably the immigrant heritage faded and the native coloration became more pronounced in the patterns of thought and social customs entailed with the Catholics' entry into more affluent avenues of livelihood. Up to little more than a generation ago this process had evolved in what, religiously speaking, was regarded as a Protestant milieu. And in public affairs generally the Protestant presence was, indeed, sufficiently powerful and entrenched that Catholics only rarely, and then usually unsuccessfully, thought to challenge it. With the depression of the 1930's, however, as Robert T. Handy has said, "the 'Protestant era' in American history came to a close," and though millions of Protestants remained faithful to their respective churches, they had to adjust, according to Handy, "to the loss of a vision that once provided inspiration and direction."

From an entirely different background and in a quite different sense, Catholics are now experiencing the pain and discomfort of adjustment to their own 'loss of a vision.' The vision that under God's grace had contributed to their assurance and intellectual ease had been embodied in an institutional Church whose head, in the time of the grandparents of many of them, had been declared infallible when he defined matters relating to faith and morals. And that head stood at the apex of an expansive organization that descended through myriads of subalterns from the Roman Curia through diocesan bishops, parish priests, and numerous and varied religious orders of men and women. It was from this large and impressive organization that immigrant Catholics in the United States, as well as their descendants, derived the 'inspiration and direction' that in one form or another are necessary to unite and to hold together a believing community. In the execution of her task amid a predominantly Protestant population the Church's most effective instrument was felt to be the school. "We judge it altogether necessary," said the bishops in their first provincial council, "that schools be established in which the young may be taught the principles of faith and morality, while being instructed in letters." The six bishops who signed those first conciliar enactments of the American Church at Baltimore in October, 1829, had no way of knowing, of course, that their action was destined to launch what a century later would have become the world's largest system of private religious schools. It was one of the most conspicuous features of an institutional framework admirably suited to provide the cohesive instrument needed by a people whose psyche had been conditioned by decades of varying types of adversity, including discrimination and exclusion from the majority of the body politic, as it was likewise a bond that helped to knit the bewildering mixture of national strains that composed the Church's adherents in this new world setting.

If in secular concerns this religious community frequently belied the unity attributed to it by outsiders, its unity in religious beliefs was real. The period during which the Catholics might be said to have been coming of age was quite simple and uncomplicated on the score of their religious faith, and thus did it remain into the 1960's when the Church as well as every other aspect of human society was struck by the full force of what Walter Lippmann has called "the revolution that no one understands." In terms of the milestones by which historians chart a people's course, one may say that through the century and a half that extended between the hierarchy's first informal meeting in November, 1810, to the election of John F. Kennedy in November, 1960, Catholics' theology derived almost entirely from Rome's pronouncements and from the works of accepted European authors, even if the future Lord

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Acton, visiting the United States in 1853, was not altogether accurate in describing Orestes Brownson as an "eager Papalist," and less nuanced than he should have been in adding, "all American theologians are that way, strict Ultramontanes." Without in any way decrying the Church's Roman connections, an occasional voice urged the need for theologizing on the American experience, for example, Brownson's own in the 1850's, and John Courtney Murray a century later, but the reception accorded their ideas was not at the time of a kind to lend encouragement to their efforts.

Catholic theological thought did not therefore, flourish in this country. There was a failure to produce courageous and original minds of the Brownson and Murray type such as was true of Catholics' coreligionists elsewhere, for example, among the Germans, a Johann Adam Möhler, for the English, a John Henry Newman, and more recently among the French, an Yves Congar. In addition the Catholics shared markedly in the national characteristic of favoring the practical in preference to the speculative, a trait common among Protestant religious writers as well. In their customary unquestioning acceptance of the voice of their Church, however, Catholics were notably different from Americans reared in the Protestant tradition.

It is here, I believe, that there can be found a partial explanation for the confusion and uncertainty that now bedevils the Catholic community. While the genuinely informed Catholic teacher never explicitly taught that the Church had an answer to every question, often the atmosphere that prevailed in Catholic schools from kindergarten to university was conducive to that assumption on the part of most students. Thus up to a decade ago the latter partook pretty generally of the natural human tendency to accept authority's explanations for the abstruse concepts with which religion necessarily deals. Consequently, lacking an emphasis on the mystery that is involved in much that pertains to one's religious beliefs, students and mature Catholics alike were prone to rest content with the teacher's or the catechism's ready answers as quick and comfortable solutions to their religious problems. And those who were not content but who questioned and probed further, were not infrequently made to feel singular and out of step. When, then, in the late 1960's the dam gave way, so to speak, and in the rush and ferment that ensued there broke on Catholic consciousness the unsettling fact that the Church did not have answers to all questions, that there are questions to which no human source can supply an answer, confidence in the Church's reliability began to crumble. The sequel to what was for contemporary Catholics a totally unprecedented situation found expression in almost as many different responses as there were persons involved. For some it merely raised questions or doubts they had not previously known, for others the sharp edge of their perplexity was dulled with the opening of novel avenues to ecumenical gatherings or varied pentecostal groups, for still others it furnished a seeming plausibility for their exit from a Church to which they had hardly more than nominally belonged, and for what was, perhaps, a majority of Catholics the situation was intimately related to a transformation that had simultaneously been taking place on other levels of their lives.

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The Church that is the people of God has never in any period of her long and tempestuous history evolved through a vacuum, nor has the grace of God, palpable as at times it has been in that people's progress, ever immunized them from the influence of the secular currents that have swirled around them. While conscious of the risks and dangers that those currents entail, the Church in our time has been at pains not to indulge in harsh and negative condemnation of them, but rather as Vatican Council II's Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World stated in 1965, to enter this world, like her Master before her, "to give witness to the truth, to rescue and not to sit in judgment, to serve and not to be served."

Nonetheless, it would be unrealistic to close one's eyes to the inherent dichotomy that has always existed, and that will exist until the end of time, between the goals of the two cities in which the believing Christian holds a dual citizenship. The one is a supernatural goal centered in the heavenly city toward which one's ultimate gaze is directed, the other is a natural goal that finds embodiment in the earthly city which offers a habitation en route for those on pilgrimage. Both have their legitimate ends which are *in se* worthy and desirable, but no good purpose is served by silencing their respective claims, or by attempting to pretend that there is not a fundamental tension between them. No more is it a service to society or to the individual to try to disguise the fact that in the final reckoning it is the supernatural, the transcendental, the spiritual, call it what one will,

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that by reason of its nature and ultimate objective has the superior claims of the two, and that it is to this prime element of the human condition that there is owed adherence in the not infrequent circumstances where a Catholic is compelled to make a choice of one or of the other.

The meaning of the foregoing for American Catholics has been sharpened, it seems to me, by the altered circumstances of their cultural milieu. As recent decades have seen them move upward toward social acceptance as a result of the power represented by their numbers, but more especially because of their affluence and improved competence, the Catholics have naturally sought to participate fully in the exhilarating and multiple expressions of what Americans identitfy as the good life. As they have done so, there have been those who have found that with their hard-earned gains on economic and social levels there has been created a tension on the level of their religious commitment that they had not previously experienced.

Moreover, the secularizing process which has become a factor in the lives of mounting numbers of Catholics, and that is now in possession of virtually every important feature of life in the United States, is no recent arrival on the national scene, nor does its all-pervading influence represent as quick a triumph as some have thought. If the religious and moral blackout has for some given the impression of having descended with the suddenness of a summer storm, it is well to remember that like every significant movement it too has had its history. More than a generation ago that history was adumbrated by Frederick Lewis Allen in a description of the 1930's in which he declared, "The long slow retreat of the churches into less and less significance in the life of the country, and even in the lives of the majority of their members, continued almost unabated." During and after World War II spectacular religious revivals, it is true, quickened momentarily the nation's moral sense and provided a temporary check here and there to secularism's advance. But as far as the churches were concerned, in no effective way were they successful in altering the course of national affairs in this regard, or in permanently arresting the constant and continuing erosion that Allen had in mind.

In discussions about the last troubled decade of Catholicism reference is frequently made to the advent of Pope John XXIII in 1958 and to Vatican Council II which he inaugurated four years later. The changed mood introduced into the Church by the beloved pontiff and the Council's enactments that reflected that mood were genuine, positive and timely. Yet it is a mistake, I believe, to interpret these too exclusively as the starting points for what followed. Unquestionably, they played a significant part in the subsequent chain of events, but the profound revolution through which humankind was then, and is still, passing has been too all-embracing not to have touched deeply the Catholic Church, as it has every other institution, whether or not there had ever been a Pope John or an ecumenical council.

In other words, the roots of the present unease, in my judgment, are to be found more outside the Church than within, more in the cultural and social forces that, willy-nilly, condition Catholics' daily lives. These forces, the communications media and the institutions that serve as their transmitters, and the influences that have emanated therefrom, are too complicated to permit thorough treatment in this context. I shall confine myself, therefore, to what is generally recognized as one of the most articulate and effective agencies in contemporary human affairs, namely, the universities, insofar as they relate to what I have been saying here. For as James Hitchcock has said, "It is at the universities that new ideas first became known [and] that there is broad tolerance for many kinds of dissent and experimentation. . . ." Catholic education on every level—primary, secondary, collegiate, seminary, CCD, and campus ministry —has felt the impact of the revolutionary conditions in which we are living, and for each of these its own experts have spoken about its peculiar problems. Once again, then, the limitations imposed by personal competence and by space compel a narrowing of the focus to the universities in which there are mirrored, *mutatis mutandis,* the anxieties with which the entire range of Catholic education is now suffused.

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In 1955 in an essay entitled "American Catholics and the Intellectual Life," I deplored the lack of scholarly distinction among Catholics, attempted to analyze the causes, and sought to suggest ways in which the situation might be improved. Parenthetically, a short time ago Robert H. Vascoli was entirely correct in interpreting that same essay as having in no way attributed the shortage of scholars "to something intrinsic to Catholicism." For in this connection I would not agree with the opinion ex-

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pressed by several writers that a Catholic university is a contradiction in terms. The world-renowned Catholic University of Louvain is a standing refutation of such a view, regardless of the recent damage done to its scholarly preeminence by the internecine warfare provoked by the Belgians' differences on the score of language. Rather the causes enumerated in 1955 were of another order, among which was the Catholics' establishment of numerous competing institutions that lacked the requisite endowments, trained personnel and facilities to fulfill their ambitious goals. At the time I gave it as my judgment that "the danger of insolvency, and that alone, will put an end to the senseless duplication of effort and the wasteful proliferation."

If the 1955 essay occasioned considerable discussion, it accomplished nothing by way of checking the multiplication of new institutions, which continued to 1965 when something of a peak was reached with 309 colleges and universities that enrolled 413,261 students, to say nothing of 607 seminaries with a student population of 48,046. By 1972 the number of colleges had declined by forty-nine and the 175 fewer seminaries had 22,963 students, a six-year drop of over fifty percent in this latter category. This dramatic reversal had been due, needless to say, to a variety of causes, but the 'danger of insolvency' has been one of the most universal, as it has likewise been one of the most persistent of these causes. Should the present declining enrollment become a somewhat permanent feature of American higher education, more Catholic institutions will be doomed, and that long before the distant cloud of a reported drop in the nation's birth rate below that of a zero population growth, has overshadowed them.

I am not concerned, however, with the 'agonizing reappraisal' that these constant and rapidly changing circumstances are forcing on schools of every level, Catholic and non-Catholic alike. It is rather with the relationship of the former to the Church under whose auspices they first came into existence and with which their history has identified them, a problem of at least equal seriousness to that of the uncertain future of university enrollment and finance. For the image that colleges and universities convey to those whose patronage they seek, whether that be to Catholic parents in search of a school for their sons and daughter, to the students themselves, or to the public at large, is a vital factor in their struggle for survival.

The basic changes in legal ownership and accountability which financial difficulties have induced in a number of Catholic institutions, in the hope of gaining public assistance, are well known, as are certain secularizing measures that are said to be a necessary accompaniment if this assistance is to be won. Present indications suggest that more Catholic colleges and universities will follow the lead taken by Notre Dame, Fordham *et al.*, in this respect. In fact, it has become nigh to quixotic for most Catholic institutions to think of continuing without some form of outside aid. From the viewpoint of Catholic educational theory and practice there is nothing objectionable *in se* to diocesan officials and members of religious orders surrendering legal ownership of universities to lay boards of trustees. Nor is anything essential lost in adopting a nomenclature in keeping with current trends, such as a Department of Religious Studies instead of a Department of Theology. As for courses in religion or theology constituting a legitimate academic enterprise from the standpoint of accepted norms of secular scholarship, two facts, it seems to me, lay to rest any question on that score, namely, the American Association of University Professors' recognition in 1967 of the right of a church-related institution to frame its policies in accordance with the creed of its sponsoring church, and, secondly, the growing number of public and private secular universities that have of late established a Department of Religious Studies a part of their curriculum.

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Given the secularizing mood that now so largely dominates American society as, indeed, is true of world society in general, it was inevitable that questions should arise concerning Catholic universities' simultaneous relationship to that society and to the Church. That the latter has been giving serious consideration to the problem, while recognizing the necessity of universities' adjustment to the new conditions in which they find themselves, is apparent in several recent statements from authoritative sources. When, for example, Pope Paul VI on last November 27 received in audience the representatives of the world's Catholic universities who had been invited to Rome to confer with the Congregation for Catholic Education, that was made clear. Noting that their efforts were in part intended, "to promote better adaptation to the exigencies of our time," the pontiff observed that they would also study the relations that should exist between the ecclesiastical magisterium and university teaching. He was at pains to state, however, that he did not wish to treat the subject in that context since, he said, "We leave it to you to express what

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University communities may reveal themselves, more than some may realize, as faithful reflectors of the new situation that exists among their co-religionists in general.

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your experience and your sense of the Church will lead you to specify. . . ." As for Pope Paul's concept of the goal these universities should pursue, he phrased it thus:

> To show concretely that intelligence is never diminished, but is on the contrary stimulated and strengthened by this inner source of deep understanding, which is the Word of God, by the hierarchy of values derived from it, by the consistency, in short, of the thought and action that is its fruit: that is, it seems to us, the specific testimony expected of a Catholic University.

The final statement that resulted from the exchange between the delegates and the curial officials, and between the delegates themselves, is not as yet available. If the news dispatches indicated that this document as finally phrased was basically satisfactory both to the traditionalists and progressives, the same accounts made it evident that it had been hammered out only after strenuous debates frequently marked by sharp differences of opinion. It would be the height of naïveté to have expected that it would have been otherwise. *Mutatis mutandis,* the same could be said for another statement on the problem that appeared two weeks before the close of the Roman meeting in the American hierarchy's pastoral letter, "To Teach As Jesus did." In the bishops' discussion of higher education tribute was paid to the nation's universities in general, while Catholics were urged to continue their support of the "effective presence of distinctively Catholic colleges and universities," which, the bishops maintained, should be institutions that conformed to sound contemporary criteria and be strongly committed to the "academic excellence and the responsible academic freedom required for effective teaching and research." They then declared:

> For a Catholic institution, there is a special aspect to academic freedom. While natural truth is directly accessible to us by virtue of our innate ability to comprehend reality, the datum or raw material from which theological reflection arises is not a datum of reality fully accessible to human reason. The authentic Christian message is entrusted by Jesus Christ to His community, the Church. Theological research and speculation, which are entirely legitimate and commendable enterprises, deal with divine revelation as their source and material, and the results of such investigation are therefore subject to the judgment of the magisterium.

Other documents touching this aspect of the subject could be cited, but the above contain the heart of this matter.

Every age, if not every decade and year, has its peculiar emphasis which marks it off from what has gone before and from what follows. During the late 1950's and early 1960's the Catholic university community of this country was to a great degree preoccupied with the achievement of academic excellence and scholarly distinction, in the pursuit of which real gains were undoubtedly made. Almost two decades after the debate about Catholics and the intellectual life, there remains, nonetheless, quite a distance for them to travel. For while one need not accept the norms of judgment, the all but exclusive concentration on New York, and the conclusions of Charles Kadushin's "Who Are the Elite Intellectuals?" [*The Public Interest* (Autumn, 1972)], it would be difficult to quarrel with his statement that among contemporary American intellectuals, "Catholics are vastly underrepresented." Of the seventy 'immortals' who compose Kadushin's American Academy, I could discern the names of only two committed Catholics with, perhaps, two others who had been raised as Catholics but who are so no longer. Apart from these findings, the Catholic situation is far from ideal, although the Catholic universities, generally speaking, are still striving to meet these goals. Allowing for the haunting problems connected with finance and declining student enrollments, however, the sequence of events has seen a shift in these institutions' emphasis in the 1970's to a more precise focus on their character as educational enterprises that have traditionally been affiliated with the Catholic Church.

Thus since the close of Vatican Council II a series of happenings in American Catholic university circles has pointed more and more toward the necessity for working out an understanding or accommodation of some kind between those who represent the Church's magisterium, chiefly the bishops, and those who speak in behalf of university autonomy, mainly faculties and administrators. Here, parenthetically, is where the document drawn up at Rome in November, 1972, may prove helpful. There is no need to recount the successive incidents in this evolving pattern in which the year 1967 proved especially memorable with the widely publicized cases of Saint John's University, Jamaica, and the University of Dayton, as well as that involving Father Charles E. Curran at the Catholic University of America. Each year since that

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time has borne its witness to this chain of events, the late months of 1972 being notable for the controversy between Cardinal O'Boyle, Archbishop of Washington, and Georgetown University over a student brochure on sex. And as I remarked previously, like most contemporary issues in both Church and State this, too, is a worldwide phenomenon as the celebrated case in Switzerland centering around Stephen Pfurtner, O.P., of the Catholic University of Fribourg, made evident as 1972 came to a close.

Much of this, to be sure, can be seen as a Catholic reflection on the university level of humankind's perennial desire for freedom, which in one form or another has become the most conspicuous cultural trait of the present age. Vatican Council II recognized this fact in 1965 when it stated that if human culture is to develop there is "constant need of a just freedom," and in working toward that end, "within the limits of morality and the general welfare," the Council added that the one engaged in the enterprise must "be free to search for the truth, voice his mind, and publicize it." Nonetheless, when every allowance has been admitted in the name of freedom, and every distinction made, such, for example, as the breadth and depth of freedom proper for a research scientist or a graduate student in contrast to that which is suitable for a freshman, there still remains the area that embraces matters that touch directly on divine revelation, and here freedom of thought and interpretation cannot be absolute, if a university is to be true to the commitment that originally brought it into being as a specifically Catholic institution.

Obviously, it is not possible to do justice in this context to all the nuances and distinctions that would rightly find place in a lengthy and learned treatise on the topic. Yet one can, I think, say that it is difficult to consider a university as Catholic that does not respect the integrity of fundamental doctrine such as, to name only two, the Trinity and the incarnation of the Son of God in Jesus Christ. To put the point concretely, Catholic theologians and Scripture scholars today give, as they should, a fairer hearing to certain views of Alfred Loisy than that accorded them in the heat of the modernist controversy early in this century. But, one may ask, has the state of knowledge advanced to a degree where contemporary Catholic scholars would be prepared to assent to Loisy's position as described by one admirer when he wrote of the learned Frenchman, "Personally unable to accept literally any single article of the creed—unless it were that Jesus was crucified under Pontius Pilate—he was yet sincerely devoted to the Catholic Church. . . ."?

The schizophrenia, so to speak, that at present obtains in most Catholic university communities by reason of the claims made by their dual allegiance to religious faith and to academic autonomy, is, I think, at least partially accountable from a reluctance to face frankly and openly the institution's religious commitment. I may, indeed, be wrong, but somehow I cannot banish the impression that some people fear that such a candid avowal would draw the frowns or ridicule of secular university colleagues, or even of a few aggressive members of their own faculties whose norms of judgment are so largely influenced by what they regard as the accepted practices of secular academic circles.

And here, it seems to me, university communities may reveal themselves, more than some may realize, as faithful reflectors of the new situation that exists among their coreligionists in general. Admittedly, it is not an easy thing to define or to describe with exactness; I for one see it as partaking of the mentality of the *nouveaux riches*. In other words, although Catholic arrival in the national mainstream may now be a generallly acknowledged fact, with many Catholics there still lingers the air of uncertainty that one associates with the recently arrived, an unease that prompts them to keep their gaze fixed on those long on the scene lest they should make a misstep in this new company. To be sure, we cannot all possess the security—be it religious, intellectual, or social—of Wilfrid Ward who once declared, "When one has no doubt that in fundamentals one is right and secure, one shrinks the less from complete candor." This perennial fidget, to employ a favorite expression of Cardinal Newman, to be in fashion can, however, have a detrimental effect on more than one's ease of mind. In this connection I recall a statement of Paul Horgan's in which the point I am trying to make was put in a way that I have never forgotten, while at the same time he depicted the unsatisfactory sequel that usually accompanies this type of thinking. "Fashion in artistic and intellectual theory is always fluid," he said, "new catchwords are born every year, and nothing is more pathetic in its desuetude than the intellectual or social chic of yesterday."

The devotees of contemporary parlance would in all likelihood find the Pulitzer Prize winner's literary elegance quite unacceptable and would probably settle for nothing less than the desire to be 'with it.' Even the most tolerant and sophisticated, however, at times give evidence that they find the mindless imitation of what is thought to be the moment's vogue somewhat tiresome. In that connection there are doubtless many who would echo Anthony Burgess' suggestions in a recent open letter to his students at the City College of New York, wherein he counseled them to expand their vocabularies, to develop a minimal grace of style and to think harder, closing with this bit of advice, "And for God's sake, stop talking about relevance. All we have is the past."

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I trust that what has been said here will in no way suggest that I am advocating a diminution in the efforts that Catholic universities have been, and still are, making for the achievement of the highest standards in teaching, research and publication. On the contrary, anything less than that goal would be unworthy of an institution bearing the name university, as it would seriously call in question its right to exist. Parenthetically, it might be said that should a Catholic university find itself incapable of a rigorous academic program with a continuing emphasis on an aim of this kind, it would seem to me that a favor would be conferred on Catholic higher education if it would honestly admit this and prepare to depart from the scene. For the goal set over a generation ago for Catholic colleges and universities by Robert Maynard Hutchins is as valid in 1973 as it was the day he stated it at Chicago in April, 1937. It would be pleasant to record that all Catholic institutions had meanwhile taken effective steps to bring themselves into line with Hutchins' recommendations, but with some notable exceptions that cannot in truth be maintained.

By the same token the same universities must, it seems to me, move with dispatch toward a clarification of their position as institutions that will reflect, respect and if need be, defend that minimum of essential truths without which they can scarcely in honesty call themselves Catholic universities. The present situation is serious, even if it is not so stark as to suggest a parallel with the oft quoted rejoinder of Louis XVI to those who had recommended Cardinal de Loménie de Brienne for promotion to France's most conspicuous episcopal see. "No," said the king, "the Archbishop of Paris must at least believe in God." All interested parties are warranted in anticipating that a Catholic university will also believe in God, as it does in the basic teachings of the Church with which it identifies itself.

Obviously, particularization in precise detail of how this is to be accomplished in a manner that will win universal assent, is well nigh impossible. It would be difficult, however, to quarrel with a formula enunciated as a principal step in that direction some months ago by James T. Burtchaell, C.S.C., Provost of the University of Notre Dame. Noting carefully that a Catholic university should make provision for the presence in its teaching body of representatives of other religious faiths, and perhaps for some of no religious belief, as well as emphasizing the unpredictable nature of the future of both belief and of higher learning, Fathier Burtchaell asked how Notre Dame might best assure its Catholic character. In answer to his own question he declared, "Before all else, by preserving a faculty which sustains our commitment. The key to the character of a university lies in a consciously dedicated company of teachers."

As I said at the outset, never in their 183 years as an organized community have the Catholics of this land known a more severe trial than that through which they have been passing in the last decade. In spite of numerous temporary reverses in the past and at times of formidable opposition, that community continued to grow from the obscure band of about 30,000 adherents at the birth of the Republic to an impressive body of nearly 50,000,000 by the 1970's. With a general optimism and buoyancy that were typically American, Catholics have rarely stopped to reflect on whence they had come or where their prosperity was carrying them. Throughout most of their history they simply accepted good fortune without having given sustained consideration to Newman's thought addressed in July, 1852, to his English fellow Catholics: "We have had reason to expect that such a boon would not be given to us without a cross. It is not God's way that great blessings should descend without the sacrifice first of great sufferings." The uncertainty, the divisiveness, yes, on occasion the rebellion that permeate at this hour in time so large a sector of the Catholic community, constitute for many a genuine cross.

In conclusion, may I suggest for those Catholics who still care, and their number is legion, that they recapture the vision of their religious belief by reading again Newman's "The Second Spring," where a renewal of hope and courage awaits them in the timelessness and universality of that unique churchman's perception of the faith in sorrow and in joy, in prosperity and in adversity. Nor is this to suggest an exercise in antiquarianism, for the cardinal's prophetic sense was so clearly vindicated in the debates of Vatican Council II as to warrant the observation that this, indeed, was Newman's council. Thus American Catholics, still so young in the family of the Universal Church and still so keenly aware of the unity, strength and well-being that were theirs up to a decade ago, can with profit, in paraphrase, ask themselves the question that Newman put to his listeners: "Have we any right to take it strange, if, in this American land, the spring-time of the Church should turn out to be . . . an uncertain anxious time of hope and fear, of joy and suffering . . .?" And in the words of the great cardinal men and women of faith in this troubled Church of ours can answer:

> One thing I am sure of . . . the more malicious are the devices of men against us, the louder cry of supplication will ascend from the bosom of the whole Church to God for us. We shall not be left orphans; we shall have within us the strength of the Paraclete, promised to the Church and to every member of it.

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TAX CREDITS AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS

THOMAS R. MULLANEY

No less than twenty-two tax-credit bills were introduced in the new Congress

In 1964, John Cardinal Cody of Chicago spoke, with visible pride, before the Second Vatican Council on the state of Catholic education in America. He boasted that enrollment figures and parish financial support were at peak levels. The nation's 45 million Catholics were then maintaining 13,207 elementary and secondary schools with an enrollment of 5.5 million students.

That moment, in hindsight, was Catholic education's high noon. Catholic school growth peaked in the two years following Cody's glowing report, and today the sun clearly has begun to set on this outpost of the Catholic empire.

The Reverend Frank H. Bredeweg, director of special projects for the National Catholic Educational Association, in December, 1971 Senate testimony provided the factual dimensions of the decline: "From the fall of 1967 until the fall of 1970, the number of Catholic elementary and secondary schools decreased about 10 percent and the enrollment decreased about 16 percent. (Author's note: these decreases represent 1,300 schools and nearly a million pupils.) The number of full-time religious teachers decreased about 14 percent, while the number of lay teachers increased about 34 percent." In plain terms, more teachers were employed for fewer students at much higher cost.

What alarms private school educators is that the pattern of sliding enrollments coupled with spiraling costs shows no signs of abating. Every day, one and a half non-public schools close their doors. Between this article's writing and its appearance, 50 will cease operation. By next September, roughly 250 more schools will house dark, empty classrooms.

Louis R. Gary, a consultant to President Nixon's Commission on School Finance, states, "Conservative estimates predict that Catholic school enrollments will drop another 42 percent by 1980," whether or not any new money is found. That would leave a Catholic school population of less than 2.5 million pupils and a great deal fewer Sacred Hearts and Holy Crosses.

The bleak situation has parents fretting over future closings, bishops struggling with dwindling revenues, 60 per cent of which go to subsidize parish schools, and one rabbi claiming that the exercise of free choice in education is at its own "Little Big Horn." Once again, this broad, politically powerful grouping of white- and blue-collared workers alongside red-collared clerics is mounting a Congressional drive for fiscal relief. The vehicle this time is federal tax credits against the tuition paid by parents of nonpublic school students.

Federal aid to parochial schools has always been a Constitutional crown of thorns. Congressmen have gladly avoided the issue for fear of stirring up libertarian ire and strong anti-Catholic sentiment. However, Mr. Nixon's championing of the politics of division has indirectly given a powerful boost to Catholic forces and placed the opponents of nonpublic aid in an unfamiliar defensive role.

The new folk heroes at the center of the President's last two campaigns have been Middle Americans and ethnics. As a result, the large bloc of previously forgotten lower-and-middle-class urban Catholics are now seen as a crucial swing-vote constituency; one of the prerequisites for candidates in hot pursuit of the Catholic vote has been a pledge to aid their ailing school system.

Congressmen and political observers admit that many Catholics are one-issue voters who elect or defeat a nominee based on his position on a key issue. Since 1971, federal school aid has been that issue. And, in close Congressional elections where, according to Robert N. Lynch, executive secretary of CREDIT, the leading tax credit lobby group, nearly 85 percent are decided by a 5 percent margin or less, this alleged electoral consistency by Catholics is a major reason politicians have continued to seek new ways to circumvent unfavorable court rulings.

New York's Governor Nelson Rockefeller's commitment to aid is so strong that, in 1971, he signed a bill providing $33 million to Catholic schools on the very day the Supreme Court ruled similar bills in three other states unconstitutional. When the New York measure met the same fate in 1972, Rockefeller, sounding like George Wallace in his financial defiance, vowed to find some way legally to provide such assistance. Shortly after the Supreme Court invalidated a Pennsylvania case (Lemon v. Kurtzman, 1971) which earmarked $20 million for private schools to pay for teacher salaries and textbooks, the state legislature hurriedly passed a law funneling $47 million to parents of nonpublic school children. This change of beneficiary proved to be in-

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sufficient and was ruled unconstitutional.

The commitment of some Presidential prestige has also kept the aid bandwagon rolling through Congress and state legislatures. Mr. Nixon's first pledge to aid nonpublic education came during the 1968 campaign. In 1970, the President appointed a four-man Panel on Nonpublic Education to work in conjunction with his Commission on School Finance. In an August 1971 speech before a Knights of Columbus audience, Nixon departed from his text to note the number of parochial school closings and said, "We must resolve to stop that trend and turn it around. You can count on my support to do that."

Nixon reiterated his determination in April of last year before the National Catholic Educational Association and on a nationwide radio address last October 25, in the campaign's closing days. Commenting on this support as well as Mr. Nixon's stand against abortion, Queens Democratic Chairman Matthew Troy cracked that the President "has done everything but serve Mass" in order to woo Catholic voters.

While Mr. Nixon has shrewdly harvested the votes through a maximum of rhetoric and a minimum of performance, it is actually Congress that is carrying the ball on nonpublic school aid. No less than 22 bills authorizing an income tax credit for parents of parochial elementary and secondary school students were introduced in the current session's first two weeks.

House Bill H.R. 49, introduced by Congressman James A. Burke of Massachusetts, is the main motion under consideration by Wilbur Mills' influential Ways and Means Committee. The bill proposes a tax credit which, unlike a sliding scale deduction, is a full refund claim of either half the tuition paid during the taxable year or $200, whichever is less. In order to prevent subsidizing parents able to meet high tuition costs, there is also an income limitation feature; the credit is reduced by $1 for each 20 of adjusted gross income exceeding $18,000. The measure is thus clearly class-oriented to lower- and middle-income taxpayers.

Mr. Burke explained that he specified only a 50-percent credit to insure that "the educational institution (would continue to) rely on substantial voluntary support . . . also with the percentage credit, there will be pressure on the schools not to increase tuition any more than necessary, since parents may be unable to absorb the whole increase through the tax credit." Burke revealed that the partial credit was designed to avoid a Constitutional confrontation. "The 50-percent credit," he said, "ensures that government does not subsidize sectarian education, since secular education clearly is more than half of the education received in such schools."

Committee approval appears assured and the chances of passage in the full House by June look good for two reasons. The eight states with the greatest nonpublic school enrollments (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, Massachusetts and California) account for 200 of the House's 435 members. Secondly, many Congressmen are alarmed at the financial dislocations of greater outlays and higher taxes involved if Catholic schools collapsed and dumped their charges on an already burdened public system. The President's Panel on Nonpublic Education reported that if the Philadelphia nonpublic system closed, the public system would pick up 142,298 students, a 34 percent jump; New York's system would have to absorb 358,-594 pupils, a 24 percent boost, while Chicago would get 208,174 new enrollees, a 34 percent rise.

Rep. Wilbur Mills, the powerful Ways and Means Chairman, spoke for many in telling a *National Journal* reporter, "The tax credit will cost nothing like what the cost would be if public education had to assume responsibility for five million or more children in privately operated secondary and elementary schools."

Opponents of nonpublic aid insist that the prospect

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of a wholesale educational collapse is a misleading ploy. Although Catholic enrollments account for 83 percent of all nonpublic school pupils, private education is not a uniquely Catholic enterprise. And, between 1961 and 1971, while Catholic enrollment declined 17 percent, the figures for independent and church-related schools of other sects rose 66 percent.

This contrast raises the question of whether economics or sociology is at the root of the Catholic dilemma. Parochial enrollments are dropping fastest in affluent suburbs, not the inner city where tuition would pose a greater economic burden. Apparently with increased social status, Catholic parents feel less of a compulsion to follow the clergy's every command.

In addition, Dr. John M. Swomley, a professor at Saint Paul's School of Theology in Kansas City, maintains that the drive for parochial aid is "rooted in a church crisis (the liberal-conservative politicization of such issues as birth control, celibacy, the status of women in the church) rather than in an educational emergency."

A 1971 Maryland study of nonpublic education cited a middle-class suburban church where "fifty-three percent of the parish income goes to the school but 44 percent of the weekly contributors give less than $1 a week." This single finding was validated nationally by a Notre Dame study that found parish donations averaging two percent of a family's income and concluded that, "the school system simply rests too far down on their list of priorities." The $64 question at the moment is: Does the parochial school's financial plight derive from its parishioner's inability to pay? Or rather their unwillingness?

Senate chances for passage are more in doubt. The previous eight major states with 200 House members command only 16 Senate seats. However, the bill's two Senate sponsors, Sens. Abraham Ribicoff and Strom Thurmond, the year's political odd couple, assure the measure a good show of bipartisan support. It is the Senate vote that will test the depth of the Administration's resolve. Congressional sources feel that, if the White House applies pressure to 12-15 Senators and invokes party loyalty, the bill will pass.

Gaining a legislative majority, however, will mean clearing only the first, and lowest, hurdle. A more formidable feat will be successfully guiding the act through inevitable court challenges. While no one will try to forecast the legal outcome, the mood among credit advocates is surprisingly optimistic. With tax credits, they feel they have an instrument that can weather the First Amendment's forbidding "non-establishment of religion" clause and the Burger Court's "excessive entanglement" criterion.

Advocates note that the federal government is already involved in the support of religious activities through the charitable deduction allowance and the exemption

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of church property from the payment of property taxes. Therefore, a precedent already exists in the tax codes for indirect governmental support of religion.

The feature providing tax credits with its expected Constitutional validity is its passive form of operation. Unlike past measures that were struck down in the courts, tax credits involve no active dispensing of Treasury funds to schools or teachers. Parents merely deduct the tuition credit on their tax forms.

Judging by the judicial opinions in the 1970 case upholding the tax-exempt status of church property, Justices Brennan and Burger appear to accept the viability of tax credits as an indirect source of funds for religious institutions. Burger's lenient interpretation is significant since he has authored all of the Supreme Court's religion decisions in the past three years.

In the Walz case, he wrote: "Obviously, a direct money subsidy would be a relationship pregnant with involvement. . . . The grant of a tax exemption is not sponsorship since the government does not *transfer* part of its revenue to churches but simply *abstains* from demanding that the church support the state."

Opponents insist that tax credits are the same as tuition grants, a potentially damaging contention if upheld by the courts. However, Nathan Lewin, a Washington lawyer, answered this charge in a private memorandum. "In the final analysis," he wrote, "the form that government action takes in the field of religion is not irrelevant. . . . Plainly, the economic impact of a transfer and an abstention may be identical. Yet, a transfer of government funds would be viewed as 'sponsorship' and a failure to tax is nearly 'separation.'" Cases are often won on that kind of reasoning.

The one near-certainty in the final verdict is that Justice Douglas will vote with the opposition. He remains convinced that sectarian education rarely has a secular aim but rather an unlimited potential for indoctrination. He quoted Jesuit author Joseph H. Fichter in a 1971 decision: "Even arithmetic can be used as an instrument of pious thought, as in the case of the teacher who gave this problem to her class: 'If it takes forty thousand priests and a hundred forty thousand sisters to care for forty million Catholics in the United States, how many more priests and sisters will be needed to convert and care for the hundred million non-Catholics in the United States?'"

The mathematical calculating going on in the minds of the CREDIT (Citizens Relief for Education by Income Tax) staff, however, is of a different order; namely, how much emotion and how many facts will it take to make nonpublic school aid acceptable to 218 Congressmen, 51 Senators and 5 Supreme Court Justices? The viability of Catholic education is riding heavily on the answer.

BOOKS

The long and the short of it in Cambridge and South Bend

Between Harvard and America

HUGH HAWKINS

Oxford, $10

Hesburgh's Notre Dame

JOEL R. CONNELLY and
HOWARD J. DOOLEY

Hawthorn, $7.95

GEORGE W. SHEA

At a time when the function and value of the traditional liberal arts college is being called into question, these two books about very different men and institutions make especially relevant reading. Their relevance springs not only from the close examination of the personalities of two remarkable educators, but also from the fact that the books deal with what have been the two dominant views of undergraduate education in America. Both of these views are being proved inadequate and have led to the identity and value crisis which now faces American liberal arts colleges.

Between Harvard and America is a biography of Charles W. Eliot, the president of Harvard University from 1869 to 1909. Given the length of his tenure as president and the crucial developments at Harvard and in American education during those years, it is not surprising that the book is more than just a biography. It is also a chronicle of many of the great educational issues and events of the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Hugh Hawkins, a professor of History at Amherst, has presented both the man and the issues in a clear and thoroughly readable style. Following a broadly chronological approach, he has built the book's central chapters around the major educational concerns of Eliot's day. Throughout the book he is meticulous in his documentation, and has added both a useful index and a biographical note on his sources for Eliot's life and world he lived in. In short, this book is admirable both for its elegance of style and for the high quality of its scholarship.

Hawkins presents a balanced picture of Eliot. It is a picture of a somewhat cold and distant man; but also of a man of immense energy and will, and

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of remarkable acumen. As chapter follows chapter the reader watches as these qualities shape not only Harvard but much of American education. It was because of them that Eliot was able to transform his university into a center for scholarship and research equal to the universities of Europe. His scientist's respect for research as well as his visit to the German universities contributed to his vision of what the American university should be. From this vision followed all of his great academic programs: the recruiting of eminent scholars; the fostering of original research and graduate programs; the elimination of undergraduate requirements; the improvement of secondary education; and the refining of means to select worthy candidates for admission to the university through what was to become the College Entrance Examination Board.

In short, although similar developments were taking place at universities like Johns Hopkins and Michigan, it was Eliot at Harvard, who had the greatest influence on American higher education, particularly in its emphasis on free election of courses of study and on high level research and graduate programs. It was inevitable, in such a design, that some legitimate undergraduate concerns, broad intellectual formation among them, might lose ground.

Hesburgh's Notre Dame is an unfortunate book about the University of Our Lady of the Lake during the years of Fr. Theodore Hesburgh's presidency. It is written in a slick magazine style by two recent graduates who make no claim to serious historical research. The incidents chosen for treatment seem to have been selected for their sensationalism or, worse still, for their maudlin sentimentality. Worst of all, the authors include countless incidents that were no doubt terribly exciting to them as undergraduates, but which are extremely boring to the reader. To top all this off, there are several pages of photographs which range from "high-camp" Kiwanis to low-quality yearbook in their appeal.

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best embarrassing and one cannot help but sympathize with a man who has suffered in one year the double misfortune of falling from grace at the White House and having this book written about him. He is pictured throughout as a well-intentioned but rather dim man who is always last to understand a problem and late to act. Worse still, the glimpses of his personal life show him either as a tedious name-dropper, or as a sentimental father-confessor, blessing the boys in his souvenir-stacked office.

It is the picture of Notre Dame, however, that is most disappointing. The book's subtitle, Triumph in Transition, suggests that the University has undergone a fundamental change for the better during the past twenty years, that it has become a great American university. Yet, the evidence of this transition is hard to find in this book. We are given a careful account of the relaxation of what were obviously outdated disciplinary regulations and are led carefully through Notre Dame's version of the bad years of '68 and '69; but there is no evidence, save for the brief mention of grants from the Ford Foundation and of an increase in Ph.D's on the faculty, of academic change or achievement. One cannot, for example, recall after reading the book a single idea on either the content or form of the Notre Dame curriculum. When this fact is put beside the new university provost's reference to Notre Dame students as "just kids," one wonders how triumphant or even real transition has been.

Many of America's several thousand undergraduate institutions resemble one or the other of these models in their approach to education. On the one hand, there is the safe place, the school, often in a rural setting, to which parents may send children, secure in the knowledge that they will be trained, if not enlightened. There will be heavy doses of football and all of the hoopla that goes with it, including certain acceptable forms of seasonal naughtiness; but there will not be much intellectual stimulation. While the curriculum does have a rationale, it is liable to be an outmoded one and its courses are equally liable to leave the mind untouched and the curiosity of students dormant.

On the other hand, in the model spawned by the graduate-oriented universities that have followed Harvard's lead, the undergraduate is too often left to fend for himself in a completely unstructured maze of courses. What is worse, the graduate training of the faculty provides little insight into pedagogy, so that instructors often have no understanding of the different needs of freshmen and Ph.D. candidates. The incoming student, however mediocre his secondary schooling may have been, is expected to meet the instructor at the instructor's level, fraught as it is with intellectual uncertainties and self-doubt. As a result, a bewildered freshman may be taught in his communications class that reading and writing are obsolete; in his comparative religion class that God is dead; in his philosophy class that science is the root of all evil; and in his sociology class that higher education is dehumanizing. Should we be surprised when he drops out?

This brief review obviously cannot provide a solution to the American college's dilemma; but general directions may be indicated. Clearly, we must rededicate ourselves to the careful and rigorous intellectual forma-

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tion of undergraduates, eschewing the curricular pablum of the safe college; the flashy seminars in pop-culture, and the forced feeding of students driven to research and skepticism before their maturity as balanced and robust thinkers. It will no doubt require some courage among educators to combat these various forms of anti-intellectualism. What we need are leaders who will do for undergraduate education what Charles Eliot did for graduate programs a century ago.

People of Paradox: An Inquiry Concerning the Origins of American Civilization

MICHAEL KAMMEN

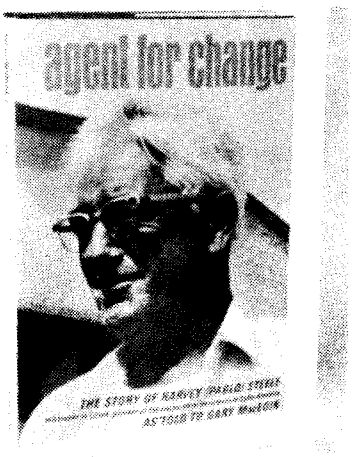
Knopf, $8.95

LEONARD KRIEGEL

Not the least fascinating aspect of American intellectual history is the persistence with which so much of our thought has been absorbed by the task of defining exactly what we mean by *American*. No other nation—certainly no nation of comparable power or status—has found itself so consistently troubled by the problems of its own legitimacy as has the United States. If Whitman is our representative poetic voice, it is probably because he soothes our nervous doubts: the boom of prophecy in his poetry often overwhelms the troubling problem of achieving personal identity in a nation that seems amorphous even to those most passionately committed to it.

Many of the questions posed by American history have been victims of the single-mindedness of our historians. The tendency to "explain" the nation's development and the national character through some single-all-embracing idea neither began nor ended with Frederick Jackson Turner's famed "frontier thesis." Like Whitman, American historians demand to be recognized as Americans before anything else. We are a people afflicted with the need to declare our own "uniqueness." Whether we damn ourselves or praise ourselves, we remain convinced that the national experience has brought into being *the American*. And whether one accepts consensus or conflict as the source of that uniqueness is less important than the assurance that such uniqueness truly exists.

What is most appealing about Michael Kammen's *People of Paradox* is that it portrays American singularity without making inflated rhetorical claims for American uniqueness. This book is a highly stimulating, perceptive reading of the nation's past, and it deserves the attention of every student of American history and culture. Mr. Kammen does not wish to "explain" nor to absolve; he is satisfied to inquire. And a good part of his originality derives from what he has learned from writers and social scientists rather than from his fellow historians. The frame of reference that he calls *Biformity* can be found in other cultures, but it cannot be found in any other culture to the extent that it is visible in this one. American ambivalence is



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not different in kind; it is simply different in degree. To the extent that our ambivalence remains unresolved as a source of cultural tension, it continues to account for both the creative and the mercenary qualities in American life. In what other country are the creative and the mercenary so inextricably intertwined? It is difficult to tell where one begins and the other ends. The culture abounds with paradox. The co-existence of forces pulling in opposite directions continues to be a source of amazement.

The scope of *People of Paradox* is broad, its thesis brilliantly organized. And because Mr. Kammen recognizes the need to stress the complexity of American development, he has made his canvas relatively narrow. He writes with a certainty about colonial and Revolutionary America that the reader does not feel in the final two chapters of *People of Paradox*, which bring our "innocence" and "evil" up-to-date. Kammen's own geography of mind emanates from that seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe which he grafts so successfully onto his American story. Characteristically, he sees Europe as it was rather than as some kind of colonization shed for America. The early colonists were as much affected by the European heritage they brought with them as they were by native American conditions, which were not as unfamiliar as our historical rhapsodies have made them. Nor were the contradictory tendencies Kammen notes in Colonial America to be resolved by the Revolution: if anything, they were simply incorporated into that struggle, to emerge as even more glaring ambiguities once the new nation gained its independence. What, after all, did the enlightenment concept of equality mean in this country: equality of opportunity or equality of condition? The heirs of the Revolution soon discovered that equality presented as many problems as it solved.

It continues to be such ambiguity—the inability to reconcile opposing forces that spring out of similar conditions— which accounts for the way in which Americans view themselves today. We continue to conceive of a national character that is overwhelming in the quality of its absoluteness. And whether that character is good or bad, healthy or unhealthy, is pretty much beside the point.

Fundamental to Mr. Kammen's conception of the nation's development is his recognition that "American institutions have had too many uncritical lovers and too many unloving critics." *People of Paradox* is rich in the light it sheds on our past, richer still in the proportions it suggests for our future. Kammen himself might be thought of as an ironic optimist. He sees the nation's history in much the same way as he sees American life today, "a volatile mixture of hopeful good and curable bad." His faith in the country's ultimate ability to work through its problems on the basis of "utopian pragmatism" will not please those who are today as willing to condemn anything American as they once were—a mere decade past—willing to applaud anything American. But this, too, testifies to the power of our contrapuntal civilization. In the meantime, for those of us struggling to understand our enigmatic, paradoxical culture, this is an important book. It reminds us of what I suspect we all need to be reminded of these days—that unresolved tensions can be a source of strength and ultimate transformation.

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Beacon, $7.95

RICHARD L. SCHOENWALD

Barrington Moore, Jr. is a distinguished American social scientist. Now about sixty, he was first drawn to social science by the conservative Yale soci-

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ologist Albert G. Keller. Moore has described himself as a sociologist, but a very special feature of his work has been his continual reaching out—to economics, psychology, anthropology, history, political theory. At the same time he has managed to stay free of the singleminded devotion to "hard," precisely quantifiable data that has become a widely cherished touchstone of social science.

"Whatever is established by sound reasoning and evidence may belong to science," Moore wrote a few years ago. "The essence of science . . . is largely the refusal to believe on the basis of hope." Moore has sought generally to reach an audience which he sees as made up of educated non-specialists. Social science must not seal itself into computerized mummification: "if social science drops the task of rational criticism from its program altogether, leaving it entirely to theology, journalism, and the Bohemian fringe of intellectual life, it can some day drown in a sea of verbiage, strewn with floating bits of meaningless data."

Repeated acknowledgments in prefaces disclose one important factor in Moore's development. Support from foundations has helped him to remain a member of the Russian Research Center at Harvard for two decades. Using the time which that money safeguarded, he undertook steadily deepening and widening inquiries into the ties of ideas and social behavior, and into the problems of using rational knowledge rationally. He has also observed repeatedly that the stimulation and comfort of friends and investigators with concerns allied to his own has proved essential to him. His long friendship with Herbert Marcuse testifies both to his firm sense of himself and to his talents for giving and for being given unto.

A career devoted to research, largely undeterred and undisturbed by teaching or by financially necessary fugitive writing, has not changed Moore into a mandarin. Far from it: his work voices aching concern for the downtrodden, the deprived, the turned out and the rejected. His devotion to social science has led him to weigh the significance of his own feelings by peering steadily into situations in the past, the present, and the murky and chancy near-future. How have men who believe themselves insightful tried to help crowds of their fellows in time gone by? On balance, where have their efforts led, why did they succeed or fail, is it likely that our knowledge of their accomplishments or failures can improve our own performance?

The present collection of essays affords some acceptable answers, but they do sound dreary and flat. Moore argues that men differ too widely and violently about the meaning of happiness to use it as a guide in evaluating plans for changing social systems. Men usually understand what misery is, so that attempts to reduce the amount of misery in the world make far more calculable sense. Change may never get under way if real disagreement persists about how many people are suffering how much, and if relatively few

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DOMINICAN SISTERS OF THE SICK POOR.

people hear a relatively loud and clear call to take action in common. Unfortunately, programs actually undertaken to cut misery usually involve pushing people into some behavior they may not have chosen for and by themselves. Resistance calls for increasing drafts of manipulation and force in order to reach the goal of lessened suffering. The dangers and unpredictabilities in the whole situation mount too often into a dizzying spiral of increasing sorrow.

In the best parts of these essays Moore assesses who feels miserable in the United States, how miserable they feel, and the chances that they will do something about it. He finds it unlikely that things will get much worse, or much better. In a virtuoso dissection he disposes of a cherished radical contention that spending for military ends dominates American concerns internally and abroad, and later he dissipates the comfort often found by radicals in the prospect of an American revolution which will come though all other efforts at extensive change fail. In truth, few Americans now want to disturb many of their fellows very much.

So Moore concludes that life is messy and uncertain, full of petty cruelties and of torment on a bigger scale, but that is the way it is, and no one seems to know how to do much about life's imperfections without touching off far more shattering convulsions. Variant commonplaces have strewn the pages of political philosophy in the work of Burke and Bagehot and Crane Brinton and Carl Becker. There, stylistic verve often redeemed the platitudinous and seduced the reader into a bit deeper contemplation of almost eternal verities.

Moore's other work sparkles with his presence, which can be in turn reflective, aroused, funny and affecting. These *Reflections* send forth only a dully glazed radiance. Even the title's antiqued shimmer fails. In his other work Moore has created a powerful and fascinating analysis of the failure of liberalism and Marxism, the most widely held Western ideas about how modern men can change. He revealed them to be shot through with ignorances and concealments barely patched over. Liberalism frees men mainly to confront volleys of institutionalized social and economic pressures as atomized individuals, and Marxism engineers them into transitory servitude which never passes away as they trudge toward "freedom." If not liberalism or Marxism, then what?

Moore possesses the intellectual and rhetorical gifts to write a tract for the 1970's as compelling as Ortega's *The Revolt of the Masses* (1930), or Heilbroner's *The Future as History* (1959). An essay such as "The Society Nobody Wants: A Look Beyond Marxism and Liberalism" (Moore's contribution to *The Critical Spirit*, the Marcuse *Festschrift*) signifies plainly that he could. Yet he has not, and when he began work on the *Reflections*, he even doubted whether they would need or merit publication. Perhaps Moore suspected that he could not go beyond rational analysis, but that he nevertheless had to touch other parts of the human spirit. In his earlier work he had allowed some of his own feeling and personality to shine through. Today's multi-mediatized audience needs from the mind and the heart a more forthright, a more outspoken union.

Perhaps neither Moore nor anyone else will be able to write that tract which movingly reconciles us to what must be, and to what we must face when we have to change what has been. Perhaps, closing our weary eyes and binding up our tattered spirits, we will just sink gratefully into the seventies.

The Moving American

GEORGE W. PIERSON

Knopf, $7.95

ROBERT H. WALKER

Using the orthographic sight gags of his day, humorist Henry W. Shaw wrote, "An Amerikan luvs tew laff, but he don't love to make a bizzness of it: he works, eats, and haw-haws on a canter." George W. Pierson, himself a well-rooted Yale professor, has joined

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Shaw in describing a national character based on restlessness. He has produced a book which invites an enjoyable "canter" through its pages.

The invitation begins with the book's handsome cloth cover: precisely the shade of blue for a day of wandering under the sky. Impressed thereon, and echoed on the chapter heads, is the beckoning span of the Gateway Arch. Even the type (Dwiggins' Caledonia) can be cited for its "liveliness of action." Professor Pierson's style—light and uninsistently persuasive—matches this mood for most of the journey. The quotations are apt and abundant. A few well-chosen cartoons make parallel points with visual wit. Pierson's use of evidence is generally engaging. It is most impressive when it reveals his historian's grasp of chronological flow. It becomes brilliant where his own competence is deepest—for example, in his precise use of the observations of those early 19th century French travelers, Tocqueville and Beaumont.

Pierson's journey in this book covers areas that have resisted large generalizations. He starts with an informal sketch of his theme, then begins—with the help of fellow scholars, contemporary documents, personal anecdotes—to collect answers to the questions of why emigrants leave home, how they choose their destinations, what happens on the way, and how the transfer affects the communities at either end. When the collected answers have reached a certain level, Pierson takes a deep breath and plunges back in, emerging with what he calls the "laws of migrability": "Movement means change" (number "I"); ". . . displacement will mean replacement of institutions" ("II"); "Migrants are not average people. . . ." ("III"). There are six of these laws, each trailing its elaborative and qualifying subheadings. Then, in a closing chapter reprinting the most familiar of his articles on this subject, Pierson returns to the vocabulary of the "M-factor" (movement, migration, mobility) and lists its ten functions in a way that provides an alternative, previously stated, for his more recently developed "laws."

Following this professional guide presents some problems, small and large. In some places there is a needless vagueness as when—to cite a trifling example—he attempts to show out-migration in his own community by reporting that fifteen choir members had left his own church, without ever remarking the size of either choir or congregation. In other places there is faulty logic: as when, in discussing three kinds of 19th-century migration, he suggests that the westward movement was in competition with the lure of the city (as though all new city-dwellers moved eastward) and that a third force (restlessness) drove people in still different ways (presumably neither cityward nor westward). Especially because considerable confusion on this subject already exists in print, it is necessary to state explicitly the way in which these forces overlapped and helped define one another.

A less forgiving kind of impatience may be expressed by the serious stu-

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dents of the American character when they see Professor Pierson begin again that naif and tiresome debate as to whether or not there really exists an identifiable American national character. Of course it exists. Of course it is not unique but shares aspects with other nations. Of course it is not universal but has exceptions and variants. Each contribution to this subject must not pretend as though there were not already abundant literature on the subject and—particularly of late—a rather lively debate as to the most suitable discipline for arranging the accumulated wisdom. Meanwhile, two works on this subject that have stood up exceptionally well are by Professor Pierson's former colleagues in history at Yale, Ralph H. Gabriel and David M. Potter.

Another kind of impatience will come from those who recognize the tendency, for many generations, to treat the American character as though it were exclusively derived from the European base. There is very little effort here to consider how that character has been shaped by those Americans who did not come from Europe.

After quoting some remarks of André Maurois, Pierson wrote, "Regrettably, these fragmentary perceptions were not linked together, or pursued toward a deeper understanding . . ." At first glance it is tempting to turn this regret toward *The Moving American*; it would be more fair, however, to suggest that the problem is rather in the other direction. Pierson's laws, when all it said and done, will be riddled with both great and small objections; they are hardly ready for the ponderous entablature which their roman-numbered hierarchy infers. But the book does comprise—taken cheerfully—the best available agenda for the discussion of this important subject. It may be that episodes in the history of migration are important in their particularities more than in their shared characteristics; Pierson's laws leave me still suspecting this to be true. But if the laws are really more like lists, at least they are good lists. It may be that the book produces no subject matter nor method, firmly defined; yet the scope is broad and often ingeniously stimulating. And who would wish to debate the book's closing assertion that American history has been, to an important degree, an experience of "Americanization by Motion."

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IN BRIEF

THE ELIZABETHAN RENAISSANCE: THE CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENT *by A. L. Rowse, Scribners, $12.50.* The final volume of Mr. Rowse's trilogy on the Elizabethan Age explores development in such fields as the drama, music, architecture, and medicine within the context of the whole age—its social hierarchies, its religious controversies—and concludes that many of these activities advanced, then, to their finest moments partly owing to a nation's awareness of its own greatness. This assessment will startle no one, but if Mr. Rowse has written popular history, he has done so with panache and a thoroughness few could equal.

Now and again the book has its murky moments: anyone unfamiliar with the composition of the First Folio of Shakespeare's plays will be confused by Mr. Rowse's description (which, incidentally, errs in saying that *Othello* had not been published before the First Folio). And, occasionally, Mr. Rowse's tone is unpleasant: advising certain reputable critics, whose positions he

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does not bother to prove wrong, to "get out of the field"; asserting that the drama as theater, rather than literature, "has not been fully appreciated before" (a most uncharitable judgment since his own analysis rests entirely on the work of others). This defensiveness is a great pity, for Mr. Rowse is scarcely a novice who will benefit from gratuitous testiness in an otherwise sound survey of a fascinating era.

MARK TAYLOR

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 173)

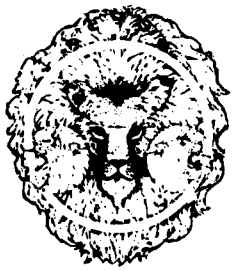
theoretician invaded the whole rotten empire of family. . . .

Other examples of the same strategy come easily to hand. B. F. Skinner delivers himself of *Walden Two* from within a personal life-style that is Walden One. Jacques Monod proclaims the morality of man-the-biological-accident from a Parisian neighborhood unchanged since the Second Empire. Those who strike at the assumptions of a culture are the first to feel the impact of their own blows and need more psychological shelter than they themselves usually realize.

I find then in the rise of Catholic ethnic mystiques a parallel to that "mystique of membership in the Jewish community" which served Freud and perhaps many secularized Jews after him as temporary housing during the dismantling of Jewish belief. I submit that this new interest stands in inverse proportion to faith in Catholicism as a religious system. Only in this light do the oblique and contradictory resentments which Novak observes reveal their true meaning: liberals resent one another for rendering participation in "Catholic tribal life," as Novak calls it, a matter of choice and thus no longer a mystical inevitability, for taking it out of the blood and putting it in the brain, for destroying it as a sanctuary.

The resentment is unfortunate, for Freud's way cannot be ours in any event. It was, first of all, the implacable

Aslan



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anti-Semitism of the past century which, in good part, made Jewish ethnic identity seem so adamantine an inevitability. No Catholic ethnic-American identity has that gruesome ally. Secondly, the cultural and the religious components of *any* Catholic ethnic synthesis are rather easily separated. Christianity aimed to be a universal religion, and even the most successful of its many cultural conquerors never submerged that original intent. As a result, the American Catholic cannot derive final, mystical self-validation from managing the practical affairs of his life according to any ethnic pattern. If the pluralism and bored tolerance of American life make ethnic self-validation increasingly difficult even for Jews, Catholics are ill-advised even to attempt it. The ethnic cultural capital is spent. Liberal intellectuals from ethnic Catholic backgrounds will have to "make do" like other liberal intellectuals, furnishing their homes with old oriental rugs, avoiding fads in food and dress, making what local shrines of resistance they can in a culture where their major sanctuary is in ruins.

JOHN MILES

REPLY: A letter so haunting in its language commands respect: its brave resignation to the chaste "resistance" of intellectuals; flickering sanctuary lamp of Fidelity amidst the ruins! For three courageous centuries Anglo-Saxon Catholics have been nourished by such self-images.

To be a universal religion, Christianity does not have to homogenize the ethnic variety of the human race. Unity does not entail uniformity. Conversely, Christian faith cannot be "rather easily separated" from its cultural components, for then it would be disembodied. It is an incarnate faith. The partisans of modernization may celebrate what Peter Berger calls "the homeless mind," and long for some disincarnate universal faith. But at enormous cost.

Cultural belonging requires no special "mystique," or "tribal life," or "mystical inevitability," or "final self-validation." All that is required, objectively, is that humans be embodied persons and social animals—that is, not pure solitary intellect. All that is required, subjectively, are awareness of one's own finite and non-universal history, and conscious willingness to move that millennial history forward into new times, in new places.

The new ethnicity is not nostalgia; we are not in the position of our grandfathers. It is a project for our children. We aspire to be more than liberal intellectuals.

The symbolic resources of Slavic—and Irish, and Italian—Catholicism continue to nourish the soul, in circumstances our forefathers never dreamed of. Is the world, after all, so different from what the gospels predicted? So different we cannot be led into the depths of Christianity explored by Dostoevsky, Sturzo, Guardini, Berdyaev?

Faith was always a matter of choice, never inevitable. It is an uncoerced acceptance of historical symbols that beckon many along an ancient voyage.

MICHAEL NOVAK

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Hijacking Cuba

Washington, D.C.

To the Editors: One might conclude from your editorial on "Hijacking and Justice" that the U.S. drove an unsuspecting Cuba into the arms of the Russian bear and the resulting "infliction of serious economic and humanitarian hardships on Cuba" is primarily the fault of the U.S.

Of course, as a democratic Socialist I realize that the the U.S. government has not always played the wisest role vis à vis Cuba, but that does not change the fact that it was Castro himself who took Cuba down the totalitarian path. No stretch of the imagination can make me conclude that the U.S. for the past thirteen or so years has been responsible for the absence of free elections, the persecution of dissident intellectuals, the imprisonment of students and the enslavement of the working class in Cuba.

The Padilla affair of a few years

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In your editorial you state that, "the Cuban people are more solidly united behind him (Castro) than ever." This is interesting information, but unfortunately, your readers will not be able to tell whether your assertion is a fact or perhaps just wishful thinking until free and democratic elections are held on the now enslaved island.

PAUL J. BAICICI

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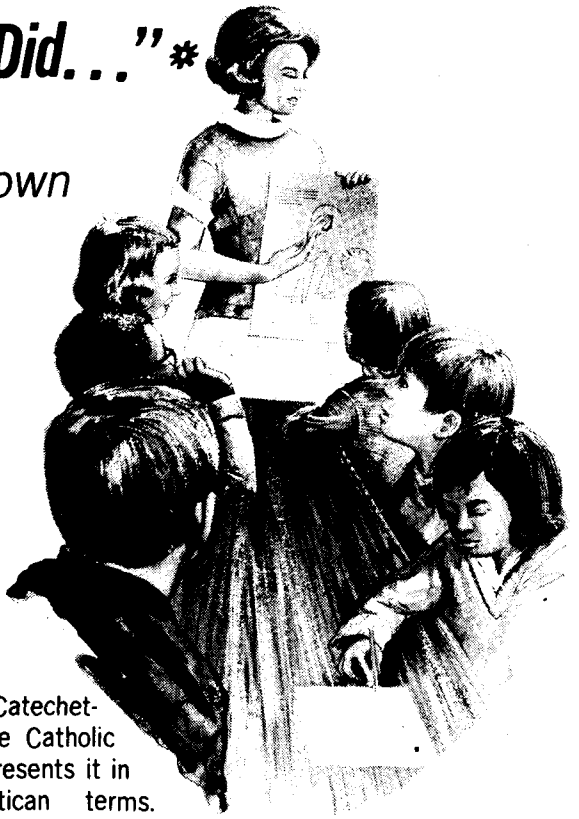

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